WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

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The New Musteite Party

The C.P.L.A. Prepares a Home for the Political Homeless

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Quietly, heralded by only the most modest announcements and by even less enthusiasm, the first bricks are being laid in the dark of night for a new political party, a home for the politically homeless in the labor movement. The new structure is not provided with a firm foundation, its bricks are not tinged with one clear color but those engaged in erecting it are filled with the faith based upon a hope that it will offer them a refuge from the conflicting winds of the class struggle.

The party is the one that was tentatively "launched" at the last meeting of the New York branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action in the form of a statement presented by A. J. Muste in the name of the organization's executive committee, "Do We Need a New Political Organization in the United States?". The 150 stalwarts who attended the meeting finally endoresd the document by a slim majority against the votes of the Socialist party members present and a "bolt" by part of the Lovestoneites who had entered the C. P. L. A. to give it a "radical" coloration.

The nub of the new Muste party is contained in the following extended excerpt from the manifesto:

Socialists and Communists

"The Socialist Party in the United States today does not have a clear working class orientation. It has not, as a matter of fact, succeeded in winning the confidence of American workers. Some of its exponents have frankly abandoned Marxism as a labor philosophy, and have no philosophy to offer in its place. Others profess to retain Marxism, but exhibit no militancy in carrying on the class struggle. It pursues a policy of "neutrality" toward the trade unions, which in practise amounts to leaving them in the hands of bureaucrats and corruptionists, makes it impossible for a man to be regarded as a good Socialist on the political field, while he is a reactionary on the trade union field and makes it impossible to distinguish between socalled Socialist unions and any other. It has lacked vigor and aggressiveness in supporting, inspiring and leading efforts to organize the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the basic industries. Its propaganda tacitly assumes that by a gradual democratic process the basic industries of the nation can be bought from their present owners and socialized, and evades any realistic analysis of the modern scene to determine what foundation there is for such an expectation. It is confused and at times distinctly antagonistic in its attitude towards Soviet Russia. It is not aggressive and militant in its struggle against militarism. It is not out-and-out Socialist, neither has it yet demonstrated that it can be an effective Left progressive American party.

"The Communist party in the United States today suffers from a mechanical dictation from outside which severely handicaps it in dealing with the American situation. It does not have its roots primarily in the American soil. It has pursued a divisive and sectarian policy in the trade unions. It has abandoned any honest effort to build a mass labor party. It talks a fantastic and doctrinaire language which American workers do not understand. It overreaches itself and tries to impose a Communist dogmatism on the workers, rather than gaining their confidence and developing their initiative by giving them a realistic and democratic leadership in their daily struggles."

The Socialist party is too discredited for these homeless Centrists, and they proceed to say so as politely as possible; the Communist party is too revolutionary for them and as is the custom of these people, they conceal this petty bourgeois fear of the revolutionary movement behind weasel words about foreign dictation, sectarianism (which to them does not mean an isolationist policy so much as an intransigeance in principle) and lack of realism. The Muste leaders therefore propose to organize a party oscillation between the two basic forces within the modern labor movement; the reformist and the revolutionary. But the purpose of this new movement is not merely that. Only a blind man can fail to see that ever new sections of the workers are moving today, however slowly or unevenly, towards Communism. They are the most militant and conscious sections of the class. That the leadership of the official Communist party and their policies do not facilitate this movement in their direction, is another matter, but it does not remove the fact that the movement is there.

To imagine that the new Musteite party is being organized for the purpose of accelerating this movement in the direction of revolutionary channels and against reformism ("Yes," said Muste in reply to a question, "it is intended that this party be an anti-reformist and revolutionary party.")—is not to understand anything about the role of these people in the labor movement. In "et" times, they were barely distinguishable from the reactionary and conservative elements in the labor movement. As soon as the working class showed signs of moving away from the bourgeoisie, and even from reformism, the Musteites came forward as a barrier in the path of the workers' advance seeking to turn them back to reformism by devious routes, but under no conditions to allow them to take the natural road of development towards Communism. Since its organization, this has been the primary function of the C. P. L. A. Developed on the trade union field as a political bloc of yellow socialists, labor bureaucrats, pseudo-progressives, and finally embracing turncoats from Communism like Miller and Benjamin and even further "Left"—the Lovestone group itself—the C. P. L. A. now seeks to transfer its functions more directly into the political field.

The Sponsors of the Party

Who are presiding over the birth of the new infant? The names themselves are instructive. Foremost among them is the name of Bert Miller, the notorious anti-Trotskyist, who renounced even that mild variety of Communism represented by Lovestone in order to crawl into the C. P. L. A.; another father of the new party is J. B. Salutsky-Hardman, whom Miller helped expel from the Communist Party as a traitor, and who has since been engaged in the principal literary defense of the Hillman regime of the blackjack, the gangster and class collaboration in the A. C. W. A.; A. J. Muste, the "ideolgical" leader of the pseudo-progressives in the labor movement whose greatest concern is to prove that in his criticism of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy he does not associate himself for an instant with the only force that has conducted a serious struggle against the disastrous policies of treason pursued by the Green hierarchy—the Communist movement; Ludwig Lore, who fails to find any real distinction between the revolutionary Communist movement and the phrase-mongers of the socialist "Left', wing in England, Germany and the United States.

These are elements without a political home, the classic exponents of Centrism who seek to repeat today the farcical experiment made a decade ago with the formation of a "Two and a Half International". That the sponsors of the new party have their eyes turned towards the recent attempts made by the "Left" wing leaders of the British I. L. P. to build a new "international" cannot be doubted for an instant. It is equally sure that the second edition of the Two and a Half International, including its American "section" will follow the first back into the camp of social democracy from which it emanated. No other fate is reserved for the petty bourgeois politicians who attempt to eke out a brief independent existence on the basis of the workers' dissatisfaction with the social democracy and a parasitic criticism of the blunders of official Communism.

The new party—if it can be dignified by such a designation—is already having its troubles. The socialist partners of the C. P. L. A., including the "Left wing militants" are already making barely concealed threats to withdraw their support from the Muste group if it proceeds to establish a rival to the S. P. The "revolutionary-reformist" party of Muste-Lore-Miller-Salutsky and Co. is being born under luckless auspices which already determine its slender and brief future. We shall return to other phases of the question on another occasion.

After the Lamont Letter

Wage Cut Drive

CLASS STRUGGLE OR "PEACE"

Once again, a member of the ill-starred capitalist efficiency cabinet of the great engineer, has dropped a few "indiscreet" remarks, Hoover's Lamont has unintentionally given away the secret preparations of the bosses for an organized—and that is about all that is real in the social democratic myth of "organized capitalism"—campaign for deep-going nation-wide wage-cuts, ranging from the pivotal steel industry to coal, textiles, manufacturing, all along the line. What Lamont blurted out has not been unknown to the Communists, who were the first to predict the inevitability of a concerted offensive action of the bourgeoisie in the attempt to disentangle themselves from the economic crisis which they and their system have brought about—at the expense of the working class, by whose toil and sweat alone they are able to subsist.

What Is the Situation of the Workers At This Juncture?

Of course, Hoover and his Secretary of Labor Doak who got his training in deceiving and misleading workers from his days in the Railroad Brotherhoods, immediately came out with denials, asserting that the government still remains firm in its stand against wage cuts and rejecting all responsibility for Lamont's letter to Condon. But, too late. The beans have been spilled. The **New York Times,** the mouthpiece of Wall Street, if any, gently chides Lamont for his rashness, deplores the "lack of cooperation" in the government and proceeds . . . to explain the necessity, yes even the inevitably of wage reduction, all in one editorial.

And how do things actually stand at the moment. To what extent has the attack on the workers advanced? This may be gathered from figures published in the June number of the **Monthly Labor Review** by the Department of Labor. The figures are extremely interesting and should be studied attentively by every worker.

Per Capita Earnings

(involving some 5 or 6 million workers)

Industry	March 1930	February 1931	March 1931
Manufacturing	$24.30	X1.3	—9.4
Anthracite Mining	25.14	—22	—9.2
Bit. Mining	18.86	—1.6	—16.2

We notice a particularly sharp downward trend in per capita earnings during the month of March in the current year, and when we keep in mind that the figures for the manufacturing sector include 54 industries, we can easily picture the universality of the trend. Later on we shall show that this drop in average wages is quite out of proportion even with the growth of unemployment and has a cause behind it, **wage cuts already carried into effect.** From the mining figures it becomes quite apparent why the strike struggle wave has found its inception in that industry.

From February to March 1931, unemployment among the railroad workers increased by 1.4 percent, while payrolls **fell 8.1 percent.** Taking the figures for the same month in 1929 as 100, the figures for **March 1931** are:

Anthracite		Bituminous	
Empl'm't	Payrolls	Empl'm't	Payrolls
81.2	70.1	88.8	65.2

In the iron and steel industries we find:

Employment

1930		1931	
April	Feb.	March	April
91.9	72.0	72.6	71.9

Payrolls

1930		1931	
April	Feb.	March	April
92.8	60.4	62.0	60.7

In 54 manufacturing industries in

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Mining And Textile Strikes In Danger

Stalinist Failure to Apply United Front Threatens Strike

Every day of the prolongation of the struggles renders more acute the dangers that threaten the two big strike movements that have swept thousands of workers into action—the strikes of the coal miners and of the textile workers. The dangers arise out of the disunity, the separatism, the isolation of the strikes—even when considered from the standpoint of each industry separately. From the very beginning this has been pointed out by the **Militant,** and the warning sounded that unless swift and resolute measures were taken to overcome the prevailing disunity, the strikes would be threatened with the poison of slow disintegration and defeat.

Our warning was addressed primarily to the Left wing and to the official Communist party which leads it—no initiative in the direction of unity can be expected from the reformist labor leaders who thrive and prosper on the basis of division in the ranks of the working class. Yet, although each day has brought new confirmation of the need of putting into practise the policy we put forward, the party has been compelled to mark time on one spot by a leadership more concerned about maintaining its prestige and the "infallibility" of its policies than in adjusting them to suit the needs of the class struggle and the interests of the movement.

The Party on the Mine Strike

Now, driven to speak out by the serious state in which the Pennsylvania mine strike has developed, the Political Bureau of the Communist party has issed a long declaration in the **Daily Worker,** which describes more openly than ever before the gravity of the situation. The strike is still isolated; men have gone back by the thousands, under the pressure of terror or lacking faith in the strike's possibilities; the endeavors to spread the strike have thus far produced the most meager results. What do the party leaders propose as a remedy? Not a single serious step that has not been advocated up to now: spread the strike, intensify relief, fight the Musteites.

All this is very good, except that the militants in the mine fields are not told how this is to be done to secure different results from those obtained with the methods pursued up to now. One small "concession", which remains a pure phrase when taken with the whole party policy, is made in the correct direction by the belated proposal to "organize our opposition and fight for our program inside the U. M. W. A. locals no matter if controlled by the open Lewis machine or by the various Musteite elements". But this is far from enough.

While one of the criticisms made is that of "Insufficient reliance in the united front", the statement does not give one other word to this immensely important problem. The strike of the independent West Virginia Miners Union is not even mentioned. The semi-independent Kentucky strike is not referred to. Yet they are in some respects the key to the situation. To give new courage, new heart, new vigor and militancy to the miners strike it is necessary to unite all the autonomous movements—Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia (north and south) Illinois, etc.—in a single front. Not one of these movements can carry on successfully by itself. The prime necessity, therefore, is for the N. M. U. to take the initiative to address the organizations conducting the other strikes and rebel movements with the proposals for a joint conference to unify them all. This, together with agitation in the ranks everywhere to have the workers exercize pressure upon their leaders, is the first real step towards a genuine united front, desperately needed by the miners.

When the Stalinist leaders fail to take this step, as they have up to now in spite of the fact that it does not diverge for an instanst from the policies recommended by the early congresses of the Comintern, they are sacrificing the living interests of the movement for the sake of the dead letter of their dogmatic formulae.

The Paterson Strike

With little change, the same holds true for the textile strikes, particularly in Paterson, where we have the saddening picture of two strikes, under two organizations, with two separate systems of activity. The stubborn stupidity of Stalinist policy in this case has created the anomalous situation where the whole crew of Right wing and reformist leaders of the A. F. of L.—from Matthews to Norman Thomas to Muste to Mr. Ben Gitlow—have been able to make the central issue of the strike the—splitting activities of the Communists and the National Textile Workers Union. By the narrow policy of the party, these gentlemen have been able to cover up their own splitting policies, and, in all likelihood, under the same covering the A. F. of L. leaders will be able to conclude the strike with the usual disgraceful settlement. Here is a tragic instance of what happens when the Left wing throws away the banner of unity. Here too a rapid turn is demanded of the Left wing. The **Daily Worker** last week reported that J. Rubin, of the N. T. W. demanded one strike and one committee at a meeting of the A. F. of L. union. What is this to mean? Does it mean that Rubin demanded that all the others join the Rank and File Unity Committee of the N. T. W.? If this is the policy, and everything leads to such a belief, than it is a poor and unfruitful substitute for what is imperatively required. The N. T. W. must propose to the A. F. of L. unions a joint committee to direct the strike! On the joint field of strike battle, the Left wing will be able to demonstrate to **all** the strikers whose policy and leadership best suits their interests. It will be able to spike any attempts of the A. F. of L. leaders to get another "Marion settlement".

The Left wing must snatch the banner of unity away from the Mustes and Gitlows, the anti-Communist baiters who use the banner as a cover for their own splitting actions. The danger confronting the two big strike movements must be overcome immediately. The discredited theories and practises of Stalinism have become an obstacle in the path of development. The obstacle must be kicked aside so that the movement can proceed further on its road. —S.

Hillman Brings the Tailor Strike to an End

"If there wil be a strike, the racketeers would call it." This ambiguous reply by Sidney Hillman to Mayor Walker's question whether Hillman could promise that there will be no strike in New York has become clear now that the strike of the New York clothing workers has been declared. In that reply were contained the real meaning and the purpose of the strike contemplated by Hlilman and of his "campaign" against racketeering. The strike has been engineered and contrived by Hillman and the organized clothing manufacturers for the purpose of **bolstering the New York market through lowering production costs at the expense of the clothing workers.** (See my article in the **Militant,** July 11.)

The campaign was well prepared, the "strike" staged in accordance with the plans laid out and having met no interference by any forces inside or outside the A. C. W. organization, will be carried out to the satisfaction of Sidney Hillman the New York Manufacturers Exchange, and Mayor Walker, and incidentally to the aggrandizement of the ignoble prestige of the yellow socialist leaders, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Vladeck, and their ilk.

A New Betrayal

To the clothing workers this "strike" means another betrayal and a sellout under an "Amalgamated agreement". This "strike" was in reality a lockout for the purpose of cutting the wages and tightening the noose around the necks of the membership of the organization.

How were Hillman's plans in this "strike" carried out? Already on the second day after the "strike" was declared the workers were sent to work in most of the shops with considerable reductions in wages, amounting in a number of cases to as high as 25 percent. (No official announcements, of course have been made.) These shops are mostly shops owned by the members of the New York Manufacturers Exchange who according to Hillman, have always maintained union standards and have agreed to the terms of the new agreement.

The workers who have remained on "strike" are those who worked for the independent firms which sabotaged on union standards and sent out their work to out of town places.

Considering, however, the privileges given under the agreement to the organized manufacturers to reduce wages and even send their work to out of town shops where standards are lower (even though they operate under a union agreement) it is not difficult to predict a speedy termination of the "strike" and a complete victory for Hillman and the New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange. The privileges granted the organized manufacturers are a sufficient inducement to the independents to join the Exchange or at any rate sign the agreement with the Union. The agreement seemingly affords lower production costs and better security than the open shop. It is worth while in this connection to quote from the **Advance,** July 31, on Hillman's stand on the question of

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A SLANDER!

Blackguards and Assistants

In **Pravda** of July 2, Yaroslavsky unmasks Trotsky who, he says, called the Five Year Plan a "deception" in the bourgeois press and predicted the speedy fall of Bolshevism. In Yaroslavsky's article is published the reproduction of the first page of the Polish paper to which, it is claimed, Trotsky sent his article. In this connection, they speak once more of renegade etc.

As a matter of fact, I never gave any article on the Five Year Plan to any bourgeois paper with the exception of an interview which I gave at the beginning of this year to the **Manchester Guardian.** The content and the sense of this interview, emphasizing the enormous successes of socialist methods of economy and defending the necessity of economy collaboration of England with the U. S. S. R., is in direct and irreconcilable contradiction with the articles of the world bourgeois press which base themselves upon frauduleut falsification and upon perversions. Riga and Warsaw have long been laboratories of false information, directed against the U. S. S. R. and against Communism. Probably, my alleged article in the Polish **Illustrated Courier** was supplied by the same blackguards who at one time manufactured the telegrams on: How Lenin and Trotsky are arresting each other, who subsequently manufactured the "Zinoviev letter", and dozens of other forged documents. To fight against these falsifications in the columns of the bourgeois papers is exceedingly difficult, because most of them cover up each other and are certainly not inclined to fall out among themselves in order to lend assistance to a proletarian revolutionist.

The Messrs. Yaroslavskys know this very well, but they hold the interests of their clique higher than the interests of the Soviet Union. While the counter-revolutionary blackguards fabricate false documents and forged articles, the Yaroslavskys photograph these documents as authentic. What then is the political role of the Yaroslavskys? Assistants to bourgeois blackguards—one cannot define this role otherwise.

—L. TROTSKY.

Kadikoy, July 8, 1931

Andres Nin Calls for the Spanish Opposition Press

To the comrades of the **Militant.**
New York.
Dear Comrades:

The unusual situation through which our country is passing presents the Communist Left Opposition with gigantic tasks. Although the situation is objectively favorable for the development of Communism and for the preparation of the victory of the proletariat there is the danger that the revolutionary process that has begun may end in a miscarriage that will have fatal consequences not only for the revolutionary movement of our country but for the whole world. These dangers have their origin in causes of various kinds: in the influence exercized in our movement by anarcho-syndicalism, in the strength that the Socialist party still has in certain points of Spain, and above all in the extreme feebleness of Spanish Communism and the disastrous policy of the International. In reality, there is no Communist party in Spain. There exist various factions that fight each other and lack, with the exception of our own, ideological cohesion. Under these circumstances, the constitution of a powerful Communist party is urgently imposed upon us. But this will be impossible without a clear policy, capable of taking advantage of the inevitable discontentment that will not be long in developing among the broad popular masses of the country, deceived by republicanism, in order to win them to our cause and to lead the proletariat to the conquest of power. It is obvious that this can be achieved only under the banner of the Communist Left Opposition. In spite of the difficulties under which we are fighting, we have already achieved in recent times very satisfactory results. But these would be infinitely greater were we to have the possibility of making our voice heard more directly by the masses.

Up to now, we have been confined to a monthly review, **Comunismo,** which while, it has met with an excellent response among the Communists, cannot reach the masses directly because of its relatively modest distribution and its purely theoretical character. We need to issue manifestos leaflets, weeklys, to have the possibility to react to all events which are unfolding here with extraordinary rapidity and to spread our point of view among the masses. This is a question of life or death for the Spanish revolution. The lack of funds prevents us from carrying out this work. The publication of the review has already involved enormous sacrifices on the part of the militants. It is absolutely necessary that the comrades of the other countries should lend us their aid. The assistance of the American comrades could be invaluable in this sense. That is why we think that **The Militant** might open up a subscription in its columns for the benefit of the Spanish Opposition in order that it should be able to accomplish the historical mission that devolves upon it. The cause of the Spanish revolution is the cause of the revolutionary proletariat of every country.

Hoping that our request will find a swift and favorable response among the American comrades, I send my fraternal and Communist greetings.

Your comrade,

ANDRES NIN.

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We wish to acknowledge the following receipts for the Spanish Left Opposition Press Fund: M. Engel, 1.00—Brown, 1.00—Ralph Heller, 1.00—B. J. Field, 4.00—Bronx Street Meeting Collection, 3.15—CLEVELAND: Fred Fisher, 1.00; Albrecht Viewey .05—A. M. Giotzer, .50—L. Stone and J. Paul, 1.00—Total last week, 10.00—Grand Total to date: $22.70. All funds should be sent to comrade A. Gonzales, c-o **The Militant,** 84 E. 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

In Spain

The Struggle Day by Day

THE SUCCESSES IN ANDALUSIA

A few days before the elections, the director of aviation, Major Franco, arrived in Andalusia. The hero of Spanish aviation, the December rebel, is not in agreement with the work which the Provisional government is doing. He thinks that the government of Zamora is betraying the revolution. He has said so although many believe that what separates Franco from the government is a question of personal ambition. From the bourgeois point of view, Franco is right. He made sacrifices, he fought to have the bourgeois republic triumph. In return, he was merely named head of aviation. Franco no doubt thought that he should have been named generalissimo of the army at the same time. It was a mistake of the Zamora government to sacrifice Franco. That is why the major—a deputy today—rebelled. Two days before the elections, he delivered a very violent speech in Seville against the government. Following an accident that occurred at the theater where the meeting was held, Franco was seriously wounded. The following day, for the elections, the minister of the interior sent to Seville General Saujurge—ex-monarchist, chief of the civil guard during the dictatorship—and chief of the civil guard of the republic. He immediately discharged Franco and other military men who were his friends. He imprisoned them and charged them with a conspiracy against the government of the republic. Franco denied the facts and the minister of the interior Maura, released them; Maura declared that it was a question of proclaiming the free republic of Andaulsia, while they say that it was an election maneuver by Maura.

In actuality Franco endeavored to employ a radical language and perhaps he was preparing an adventure in order, by captivating the sympathies of the Andalusian workers and peasants, to gain a number of deputy's seats for himself and for his friends. Maura, who saw in it a danger for the seats of his own friends, concocted a conspiracy, hoping in this manner to draw to himself the sympathy of public opinion for his alleged zeal.

THE ELECTIONS

The elections to the Constituent have taken place. Its salient feature has been the defeat of the republican liberal Right, the party led by Zamora and Maura. The regionalist elements triumphed in Galicia in Guipuzcea and in Catalonia. The success obtained in Catalonia by Macia's separatists is immense. Macia finds himself placed before the obligation to realize his separatist promises and to attack the Spanish government, or else to betray the interests of the people who supported him.

For many weeks, numerous political conspiracies have been unfolding in Catalonia. The moderate statute which Macia is preparing may be the commencement of the betrayal.

The socialists won 130 seats, more than they hoped for; they are the most numerous group in the chamber. As we foresaw, the petty bourgeoisie voted for the socialists, and some groups of the big bourgeoisie, who see in the socialists a party of order, also voted for the social traitors.

The radical party of the minister of foreign affairs Lerroux, was highly successful. The bourgeoisie divided its votes among the "Lerrouxists", the socialists, and the republican liberal Right. The socialist radicals, even though divided at the last moment into many groups, each more radical than the other, received a large number of workers' votes, of workers discontented with the socialists and who had no confidence in the divided groups of the Communist party. The socialist radicals were successful, all told, even if less so than they had hoped. Their last minute divisions were one of the reasons for it.

The "official" Communists received more than 50 000 votes, although they have no seat in the chamber. The Workers' and Peasants' Bloc led by Maurin, obtained 10,000 votes at Madrid and Baroelona. It has no influence in the rest of Spain.

Had the Spanish Communist Party presented itself unitedly, it is probable that it would have won many seats. There lies the principal responsibility of the Stalinist bureaucrats and also of the Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation which did not seek to propose the united front of Spanish Communism before the elections.

Madrid, June 30, 1931

—HENRI LACROIX.

THE ARTICLE ON BRITAIN

The pressure of space has compelled us to omit from this issue of the **Militant** the article by comrade Arne Swabeck in his series on the situation in England. The article will appear in the next issue.

The Wage Cut Drive

(Continued rfom page 1)

cluding textiles, clothing, etc., unemployment increased 16.7 per cent and payrolls decreased 24.6 percent. Aggregate figures involving more than 5 million workers, show that between March and April this year alone, payrolls dropped 1.5 percent as compared with a 0.2 percent drop in employment.

Everywhere we see constant growth of joblessness, continual decrease in wages. No matter how great the ravages of unemployment are, or rather because of them, the men on the job suffer the onslaught upon their conditions just as well. **Unemployment and wage cuts go hand in hand.** The wide disproportion between the figures for employment decreases and payroll drops display this convincingly.

This is how things stand today with the American working class. What of Green's agreement with the bosses at the Hoover Round Table Conference of 1929 the worker in the A. F. of L. is bound to ask himself. And if he considers these figures seriously, there can be no doubt left in his mind, that this whole sorry business of "peaceful" agreements with the bosses is a sham and a fraud and that the only result it achieves is: giving the capitalists a chance to gather their forces and throw the workers off guard.

The workers in the reformist trade unions are confronted today by the burning question: Class collaboration or class struggle? Green's agreement with the bosses, faithfully carried out by himself—he has not raised as much as a finger to put the A. F. of L. workers in motion against the cloud burst of wage-slashing threatening them—and quite naturally disregarded by the bosses, should teach them a sound lesson in class politics. That they will awaken from the dark years of lethargy, brought about by the "prosperity" ruse is certain. Can they be harnessed together with the rest of the workers for effective class action—this depends upon another important factor: Upon the ability of the Communists, the front rank fighters of the proletariat, properly to size up the situation and to act accordingly.

We know that the bosses in the steel industry are prepared to cut the pay of every one of the hundreds of thousands of workers in their employ. But they are wary. The company (U. S. Steel Corporation), we read in the **Times**, on July 30, 1931," does not contemplate any movement for the reduction of wage scales covered by contracts with **organized labor at this stage.**" Notice: "with organized labor" and "at this stage" The wages of the unorganized have already undergone a good cut, that is visible from the figures we quoted above. And why not "at this stage"? Because the steel bosses know the sentiment of struggle among the workers only too well. Because the coal industry, in which a fierce struggle, extending over Pennsylvania and Ohio, the steel centers, a strike struggle led by the militant National Miners' Union, is already on. Because the steel kings fear the solidarity of the steel workers with the striking miners and because it is well known that a steel strike will be the signal for strikes on a nation-wide scale.

The exploiters in the C. S. Steel and Bethlehem corporations are waiting for the collapse of the miners' strike. They know their strategy. And if the leaders of the National Miners' Union and of the official Communist party know their's, **they will strive with might and main to extend the strike and to stop sabotaging the Leninist united front tactic.**

We ask again: Will the party leaders continue to miss opportunities, or will they begin to employ the united front tactic which drives the fakers out of the labor movement and unites the fighting masses with their Communist vanguard? The time to decide is today.

—SAM GORDON.

GERMANY

The Impotence of the Communist Party in Face of the Crisis

Hardly ten days have passed since the announcement of the Hoover moratorium and already a violent accentuation of the political and economic crisis in Germany has manifested itself. All the prophecies of the bourgeois and social democratic press on the advent of a new era—diminution of the economic crisis and a new rise in a short time—not only in Germany but throughout the world, have vanished.

The crash of one of the largest banks—the Danat—gave the signal to the financial bankruptcy of Germany. All the attempts of the Bruening government to stop the financial catastrophe by international loans have up to now had no success. Up to now Luther's mission has fulfilled but one object: to hold back for three months the payment of the 100,000,000 in credit payable on July 15. The French bourgeoisie which has deliberately prolonged the negotiations on the moratorium in order to deliver a heavy blow to the German bourgeoisie in exchange for the suspension of reparations payments, is obviously far from ready to consent to loans to Germany without political guarantees. The near future will show if the German bourgeoisie will once more be forced to give up its imperialist attempts. The renunciation of the customs union, of the construction of the armored cruiser means to push the German bourgeoisie back in its imperialist endeavors.

Among the working masses, panic has taken the place of discounted illusions. The small savers start a run on the saving banks and other bank, which a Bruening decree had closed until Thursday. The experiences of the inflation days are still very vivid in the minds of all. Every worker who has made little economies out of his wages or allotments, knows that he will be expropriated just as in the inflation time up to 1923. The warnings of the bourgeois and social democratic press, seeking to prevent the workers from withdrawing their savings, have had no success. The feeling of insecurity towards the dominant system recalls 1923.

What Is the Party Doing?

The **Rote Fahne** is prohibited, the headquarters of the party, the Karl Liebknecht House is occupied by the police. The bourgeoisie is afraid of a reactionary insurrection, it takes its measures—the reactionary pressure against the party grows more acute. What is the party doing?

The present situation in Germany, the domination of the Bruening government, resembles, if one wishes to make a historical parallel, the situation at the time of the Cuno government. It is clear that the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, as compared with 1923, is not in favor of the proletariat. Nevertheless, the confusion and the insecurity of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie the loss of confidence in the miracles and magic means of democracy on the part of the social democratic workers, shows us a strong resemblance to 1923. Still more, the social democratic workers have gone through a great number of experiences which prove to them that the democratic republic will not lead them to socialism. Since the epoch of the Mueller government, their standard of living has been falling rapidly. And the coming perspective shows them not the resurrection of the Weimar constituton, but the advance of Fascism, the eventuality of a victory from this side. The last hopes of the social democratic workers inspired by the Hoover moratorium, have vanished much more quickly than might have been foreseen. The social democratic worker begins to understand that in this republic he has only his chains to lose.

Fascism which, in 1923, hastened to go over to the insurrection, hesitates today. It is uncertain about the issue of the struggle. The elections to the factory councils and the proletarian manifestation on May 1 have proved to it that the German working class is not at all prepared as yet to suffer its domination. Today, Fascism would prefer to see itself represented by a coalition government.

The only force that could utilize the present situation is the Communist party. And yet it is doing nothing for the moment. Where is the political strike about which the Centrists babbled for years? Why can't our party organize and proclaim today the political strike, drive out the Bruening government and lead the working class to struggle? Here come to light the deplorable results of the "third period", which certain capitulators of the youngest generation would like to forget so quickly. We are face to face with a historically tragic fact that, on the one hand, there is indeed a strongly rising radicalization of the social democratic workers and of the working class as a whole, while on the other hand, there still exists the great distrust of the social democratic workers towards the party, egged on by "social fascism" But the present policy of the Central Committee of our party contributes very little towards mending the mistakes of the past, towards winning the social democratic workers to the common struggle.

The Party and the "Left" Socialist Leaders

The Rosenfelds, Seydewitzes and Stroebels are exploiting the fighting moods of the socialist workers. The "Left" socialist leaders have issued an "exhortation to the party" in which they take up a position against the tolerance policy of their Central Committee. The Right winger, Sollmann, replied to them in **Vorwaerts** by saying that one must finally "speak in a clear tongue" to the leaders of this faction. The general political and economic crisis of Germany is reflected in the sharpened contrast between the social democratic bureaucracy and its workers. It is this situation which the "Left" wing leaders exploit in order to halt the departure of the socialist workers towards Communism. What is the Central Committee of our party doing? Instead of making **proposals for a united front** to Rosenfeld, Seydowitz and Stroebel on the basis of fighting demands, in order to put them against the wall, to unmask their real position before the eyes of the workers, Thaelmann conducts **secret negotiations** with the leaders of the "Left", he invites them to come to the Communist party, he promises them . . . internal democracy and places in the Central Committee and even a unity congress if they are ready to join the party.

There is the real face of Centrism. It has forgotten how to pose the political problems openly before the working class. Proposals for the united front to lead the masses to struggle are too much to the "Right" for it; on the contrary, negotiations behind the scenes appear to it to be the tested method. But it is not in this way that the workers still in the ranks of the Social Democratic party will come to Communism. It is the duty of our party to approach the Left wing socialist workers. Let us give them the opportunity to recognize by experience their Left wing leaders.

The party must address itself to the leaders of the "Left" with a program of struggle. They claim to fight against the Bruening government, they must prove that they agree with the program of struggle in which their slogan "Down with the Bruening government!" is put forward side by side with a series of slogans understandable by all the workers and touching their vital interests. Such a program cannot become the object of secret negotiations, but it must become in the factories, in the trade unions and in all the proletarian meetings, the axis of the discussion and the organization of the common struggle.

If the Central Committee of our party intended under present circumstances to launch the party alone into an isolated and hopeless struggle, it would mean the ruin of the party, the complete enfeeblement of the revolutionary vanguard for years.

The class contradictions will grow even more acute in Germany. The bourgeoisie will go over openly to the oppression of the revolutionary working class. **The prohibition of our party** is more than ever in the order of possibilities. We know that the Centrists have already spoken for three years about the coming prohibition of the Communist party. They will now be able to say that they were right. But that is not what is involved. All measures must be taken for the passing over into **illegality.** The party must not be caught unawares.

Whatever may be the maneuvers undertaken by the German bourgeoisie in order to maintain its positions, one thing is incontestable: It is laughing at the masses now. The policy of brigandage will continue. It will not be so easy for the social democratic and the national socialist parties to hold back the masses. Our party must be ready for battle.

Hillman Ends the Strike

(Continued rfom page 1)

stoppages at the conferences with the manufacturers:

"President Hillman expressed himself as quite in agreement with the exchange that stoppages should not occur and industrial processes should not be interrupted while an agreement is in force and while machinery exists for the adjustments of **all possible difficulties and disputes** (underlined by me. A O.) He is even willing to conceive of the feasibility of disciplining union officers for willfully interfering with the industrial routine, provided however there were effective provisions for the checking of employers' attempts to disregard the checking of employers' attempts to disregard the stipulations of the existing contracts."

The agreement provides for settlement of all possible difficulties and disputes by a machinery established for that purpose. In the absence of minimum scales of wages and under the prevailing competition among the different sections, the workers have no guarantees whatsoever against adverse settlements and even unrestricted and unlimited lowering of their conditions. It is no wonder that the New York Clothing Manufaturcers Exchange has been giving its heartiest cooperation in Hillman's "strike" and in his other campaigns. They the manufacturers, will be the ones to benefit in the end. Those who will lose are the clothing workers who have been systematically betrayed by the Hillman bureaucracy.

The fight against the racketeers who have been interfering with Hillman's plans for the unionization of the New York market has been given prominent place in the present "strike". But the ground on which this "fight" has been carried on has somewhat shifted. Hillman does not speak any more of the racketeering inside the union and is confining his attacks on the outside racketeers who protect the non-union shops. But even in regards to these his fervor seemed to have been greatly modified. He does not foresee any immediate sweeping "victory" over the racketeers, but leaves it rather to the slow process of evolution. After all, racketeering is a business and as such is subject to principles governing all business enterprises and can only be combatted on that ground. It is evident that the racketeers are in a position to compete with the A. C. W. in the business of supplying cheap labor to manufacture. The result is—loss of ground for the union. A way must be found to put the racketeers out of business. True, it is not so easy. Racketeering is well organized and protected by politicians and upholders of the law. It is next to impossible to get rid of them. They are not even to be reached. But the gangsters that are in their employ can be arrested and prosecuted. That will increase the cost of racketeering and manufacturers will not be in a position to enjoy its "services". It will simply "not pay". It will be cheaper to deal with the Amalgamated Union. This wisdom has been set forth in an article in the **Advance** of July 31, and flows from the pen of the editor, Hardman-Salutsky, the thoretician of Hillman's "efficiency unionism" and deserves therefore, our recognition.

It is clear from this that Hillman's role in the fight against the racketeers has greatly diminished. Mayor Walker will receive most of the credit. Hillman lost his chance for another medal. That explains the diminished vigor of his "fight" against the racketeers. As regards the racketeers inside the union, let us hope the fight is not over yet. These racketeers will some day have to give an account to the membership of the A. C. W.

What did the workers expect from this "strike"? The workers had very good reasons to welcome a real strike. Their conditions in the shops are deplorable. Unemployment is rampant. Wage cuts are a daily occurence. Work is then taken out of their shops to be made up at lower prices. Competition between union shops has ruined all decent standards. The officialdom, openly or by connivance with the bosses, is introducing the most intricate schemes of rationalization. The workers are subjected to abject slavery. A real strike held out a great promise for them. They have had no strike for over a decade, since the policy of cooperation has been adopted by the officialdom. They, therefore, voted for the strike in the hope that they would get back their wage cuts and improve their conditions. Hillman made them promises of a 10 percent increase in wages, of bringing the "bundles" back from the out of town shops and establish control in the New York shops. True, they had little confidence in the Hillman bureaucracy, but knowing no other power that could help them in their distress they vaguely hoped for some relief from the strike. But they were disappointed. They will now have to do a bit of thinking.

What part did the Left wing play in the "strike"? The influence of the Left wing organized in the Rank and File Committee in the "strike" has been negligible. Due to the numerous errors of the party leadership and the unwarranted changes of policies the organization of the Left wing forces in the Amalgamated has not yet even begun. It was not possible to expect any results for the Left wing in this "strike". But the Left wing could have exerted a great ideological influence, laid a foundation for a wide movement in the A. C. W. and regained the lost confidence of the masses. This opportunity, however, has been missed. Despite the favorable objective conditions and the Rank and File Committee'e correct slogans in this "strike", it has not succeeded to any degree to develop a rank and file movement in the A. C. W. In some respects their policies are not correct even now. In their reversal of the old "third period" policy the party leadership hit the other extreme. In their endeavor to pose as a pure rank and file movement they have completely obscured the goal and the ideological physiognomy of the Left wing for fear of being disclosed as a Communist movement. Their new policy of "no politics" in the trade unions is bound to doom them to impotence. Besides, the Rank and File Committee will not be able to grapple with any great movement given its own weak forces. This serious error must be corrected. But more about this and about the clique fights in the Amalgamated in my article. —ALBERT ORLA'

In Greece

Repression Against the Opposition

Tuesday evening, from 7 to 12:30 the trials of comrade Oreozil (Anna Carsi) and comrade Tsonndas took place. After the questioning of the witnesses, mainly agents of the police, who heaped up slanders and lies without end, the tribunal listened, amid interruptions, to comrade Oreozil, who flung back the accusation of propaganda that had been charged to her by saying that as a member of the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists, she had the obligation and the duty to work with all her power for the liberation of the proletariat. In the same spirit spoke comrade Tsonndas emphasizing his devotion to the proletarian cause.

Thereupon, the prosecutor of the republic took the floor and spoke at length about the Archio-Marxist organization and of the danger the bourgeois is running if it is allowed to progress in the formation of cadres. "This organization", he added, "is the real enemy of capitalism, because it is constituted out of conscious and devoted revolutionists, capable of giving their last drop of blood for the cause they embrace and as such, you must condemn the accused very severely. What the Communist party has not done and is unable to do, lacking absolutely in ideological level, will be done by the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists."

The defense attorneys then spoke showing that the accused only did their duty as Communists and that they hold their heads high before the class tribunal.

Our comrades were each sentenced to a year and a half in prison and 2 years of exile.

The courtroom was filled with young comrades of our organization which forced the police and the detectives to intensify the terror and the police measures.

Anti-Semitic Disturbances in Salonika

Greek capitalism, reduced to extremities, is falling upon the minorites. At the present moment, it is the Jewish minority which gets the role of scapegoat. The "patriotic" fury of the nationalist organizations was unleashed against the Jewish element of Salonika which is accused of being in connivance with the Bulgarian Macedonian Committee for the autonomy of Macedonia.

In actuality, a Jewish sport organization, the Maccabees, had sent a certain person as presentative of the Greek Maccabees to Sofia last year to the congress of the Maccabiad. It seems that at the end of the congress, a Bulgarian officer, of Jewish origin delivered a patriotic speech showing the need of autonomy for Macedonia. And our representative applauded, although he understood nothing, not knowing Bulgarian.

Recently, certain bourgeois journals of Salonika alluded to the last congress, asserting that the Maccabees are Bulgarian agents and that the whole Jewish minority is of about the same caliber. This was the tocsin. A band of reactionary students distributed leaflets invited the Greeks to boycott the Jews. Pretty soon, it came to blows and the police did all within their power to arrest the Jews and let the students escape.

In the meantime, a violent campaign of the bourgeois papers, aimed to sow dissension among the two elements in order to distract their attention from the economic crisis, was opened up. First there was the looting and destruction by a band of madmen of the Maccabee hall. Then, attacks by veritable gangs of common criminals upon the Israelite suburbs, inhabited by poor families and bread-winners. Veritable scenes of fury unfolded, with many wounded on both sides. The police who usually show a remarkable zeal in the pursuit and assassination of revolutionary workers, always arrived at the last moment. Monday evening, numerous nationalist gangs led by a monstrous attack upon the suburb of Campbell, at the eastern end of the city. After looting, this people calling themselves "patriots" put fire to the institution inhabited by widows and orphans. As usual, the police and the army were unable to re-establish "order" until after the event.

The reactionary leaders of the Jewish community only urged the Jews to a "laudable calm and passivity". Counting upon their natural allies, the Hellenic bourgeoisie and the authorities, they did not permit the Jews to defend themselves.

Salonika, July 3, 1931

—OPPOSITIONIST.

PICNIC AND RALLY

For the Spanish Revolutionary Movement

The heroic and militant battle which the Spanish workers are carrying on today will be celebrated at a picnic organized by the New York branch of the Communist League (Opposition). All New York militants are invited to join with it at the picnic and rally to aid the Spanish Left Opposition to carry on more effectively its struggle for the Spanish proletarian revolution. The affair will take place on

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9, 1931

at TIBBETTS BROOK PARK

Speaker on the Left Opposition and the Spanish Revolution

Games — Races — Rowing — Ball Playing

Directions: Jerome Avenue—Woodlawn subway to end of the line. Hike or take street car or bus to the Park. Picnic is at **Plot No. 8.**

DISCUSSION ARTICLES

The Party and the Opposition's Tasks

(Continued from last issue)

The Communist party came on the scene in 1918-19 following on the heels of the October revolution. The basic elements the party recruited from were foreign workers, members of the numerous Federations that had been connected for years with the American Socialist Party. The first few years of the party's existence were to a large extent taken up with preparatory work. On the one hand a systematic attempt to raise the ideological level of the general membership which had come out of the ranks of official socialism, absolutely innocent of any theory, and on the other, the need of lifting the party into open political work. The whole character of the party for the first four years of its existence was seriously colored by a semi-conspiratory nature which was the outgrowth of the post war governmental persecutions.

The I. W. W.

The native proletarian elements who at that time still centered around the I. W. W. were at first neglected by this rising movement. It was not until 1919 and again 1921 that a definite effort over the heads of the American Communist leadership was made. The effort emanated directly from an appeal by the Communist International signed by Zinoviev asking the I. W. W. to join in the creation of a unified Communist movement. By this time the I. W. W. had degenerated to a very large extent. In a great measure this was caused by the removal of its previous leadership by governmental prosecution and imprisonment and the entry of anarchistic elements into some of the leading positions. The clumsy maneuvering and awkard machinations of some of the party elements sent in "to capture or destroy the I. W. W." also helped. The result of this whole process was that the most invaluable revolutionary elements, trained for years in sharp struggles, were eliminated from the movement. At no time before the very recent period could the I. W. W. be classified in the same general political category as classical European syndicalism. Here the petty bourgeois philosophy of sabotage and all its kindred manifestations never assumed commanding influences. The worst that can be said about the I. W. W. is that it lacked Marxian understanding. Yet with sound class instincts, it raised all its struggles into open political actions. Every strike led by the I. W. W. soon transcended the mere momentary gains and assumed a general class character.

It was not until 1923 that the Communist movement became a serious factor in American political life. At this time the party made its first attempt at active participation in the prevailing class struggle. The organization of the T. U. E. L. as a center for co-ordinating the activities of the Left wing workers in the existing trade union movement was launched. A number of correct slogans were raised: "To broaden out the base of existing unions by amalgamation; the breaking down of the established narowing craft divisions; the assumption of a more definite class character, and above all the question of organizing the unorganized." This movement gained such scope that by 1924 and 1925 the Left wing organized and marshalled by the party through the T. U. E. L. had succeeded in penetrating every corner of the organized movement. The whole labor bureaucracy was immediately organized to crusade against this threat of the Left wing.

From 1925 onward the party played a decisive part in a number of struggles in the economic field.

1. The needle trades: By consistent Left wing activities within the reactionary needle trades unions, the Left wing leadership succeeded in winning the majority of the organized workers under its sway. This movement culminated in the policy of expulsion against the Left wing which handed them over by 1926 some 40,000 dress and cloak makers, and about 10,000 furriers and this under their absolute leadership. After going begging for two years for blocs and bargains with the **Forward** labor fakers, in 1928 after a precarious existence as an indefinite organization, they launched the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. This union was no sooner born han a period of hectic adventurism commenced. The outstanding classic of these policies was the ordering of workers to remain on the job while the Right wing unions had called their workers on strike. The total results of this wild adventurism is that from a following of 50,000, the Industrial today commands a membership which is variously estimated from 3500 to 1500. To finish this devasting picture of decline a new policy is being evolved. To go back into the "company unions" for the purpose of there raising the slogan of "destroying the company unions", only to renew tomorrow the "united front" from above. This field was probably the most fruitful in the whole party's existence. The general attitude of the needle trades workers who despite the party's claims have not become "reactionary", who have not forgotten the lessons of the struggles taught them by the Left wing is a universal distrust of the party leadership on any question concerning their status in the every day struggle.

2. The next outstanding event was the Passaic strike where despite the slowness of the party leadership to accept the gage of battle some 25,000 to 30 000 workers carried on a struggle for a half a year. This strike partook of all the sharpness so characteristic of American labor battles. After this protracted struggle the collective party wisdom could find no better road than to hand these workers over bag and baggage to the A. F. of L. fakers, to dissipate and demoralize. The party's influence in Passaic, New Bedford (where a strike took place two years ago involving almost as many workers as Passaic), is reported by Manuilsky at the recent R. I. L. U. conference as having reached a practical loss of all influence.

3. There had been a miners' strike embracing some 3 to 400,000 workers spread over the principal mining centers of the country. For two years while this struggle was waxing sharper and sharper, the party's press and spokesman, hardly mentioned the fact of its existence. This policy of evasion was finally brought to a head by the strike of miners in Colorado carried on under the auspices of the I. W. W. Out of this strike grew a nation wide agitation for relief and defense. The party pounced upon this movement as a godsend through which they could somehow enter into the neglected mine fields. They immediately started a general relief movement which for intensity and thoroughness in a considerable fashion covered up its previous neglect. One thing we must remember in connection with the miner's struggle. From its inception it took on the character of a struggle, not only against the mine operators but also against their lieutenants, the United Mine Workers bureaucracy. Instead of raising the badly needed slogan of a "clean sweep with all the fakers," the purging of the union of all undesirable elements and a real fight against the bosses, here insult was heaped upon injury by an **unprincipled alliance** with every rag-tag reactionary who momentarily spouted Left phrases. Out of this grew the famous movement of unpleasant memories, the "Save the Miners Union Movement." After this adventure the party organized a brand new union "the National Miners Union," this organization trimmed with all the revolutionary "phrases" and despite this contained some of the best known militants amongst the miners. Within a year's time, thanks to the mechanical manipulation of the party bureaucrats, with their system of elimination to the end of mechanical control we arrive at another new union called the "Mine, Mill, Oil and Smelter Workers Industrial Union" which Manuilsky quotes as having a membership of 50 (probably all functionaries). This appelation was quickly dropped and its previous name revived. The total results of these adventures are that whereas in 1926-27, and in some cases '28, the party and the Young Communist League had healthy working class branches in every mining town in Southern Illinois, western Ohio, Pennsylvania, etc. there is hardly a party nucleus left. The bitterly contested movement now taking place in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia bids fair to once more revive the possibilities of Communist penetration providing of course that the Centrist leadership does not pursue the usual course.

4. By far the most favorable field of work for a number of years has been the marine industry. In 1921 the I. S. U. alone boasted 125,000 members or roughly 85 percent of all deep sea workers. The same proportion of organization prevailed in a lesser degree amongst the harbor workers in practically every large port on both coasts. After the '21 strike this tremendous strength was dissipated. Two years later the Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W. could truthfully claim a membership of from 25 to 30,000. Some brilliant strikes were caried on, of which San Pedro, Calif., bids well to go down into the annals of working class history as a most heroic and bitterly contested struggle. This union also went to smash, this time as a result of the characteristic muddleheadedness of syndicalist leadership. In 1928, the party organized the Marine Workers International Club on South Street New York harbor. The purpose of this club was to coordinate Left wing sentiments with the object of launching a much neded union (Andrew Furseth once said that "if the Salvation Army was so minded, it could organize the Marine Workers into a fighting union".) This club was no sooner organized than it began to draw around its fold all the leading militants in the industry. These were men who through 10 or 15 years of the war and post-war period had gone through a history of organized struggle. They were well trained militants. At this point the struggle between Foster and Lovestone sharpened as a result of which the opportune time for launching a union was deferred for years, A convention was held a year and half ago which in composition contained the finest representation seen in many a year at a Marine convention. A union was launched, the Marine Workers Industrial Union. Mink, Sparks and such kindred ilk who had no knowledge of the industry were picked as the chosen leaders. Most of the militants who entered into the union were not convinced Communists, yet they were willing to undertake the task of organizing under the controlling leadership of the R. I. L. U. This was not to be. Elements who would not put up with all the impositions of the bureaucracy were not desirable. The Marine Workers Industrial Union after a bare year's existence cannot even be classified as a skeleton. The best elements have been driven out or mechanically eliminated. Here too, the party's influence is practically non-existent, where it is not totally discredited.

(To Be Continued)

—S. M. ROSE.

Education and the Young Communists

In the program of the Young Communist International adopted at its Fifth Congress its character as an educational organization is affirmed. Despite this correct programmatic statement, the Young Communist Leagues do not fulfill this function. For them to do so would mean to come into conflict with the ruling regime in the Cmintern.

The members of the Y. C. L. do not understand the educational nature of their organization. For them its whole purpose is expressed in the simple formula: to win the youth for the struggle against capitalism. The vanguard role of the party and how the Y. C. L. contributes to the creation of this vanguard is not understood by them, although they may know formally that the party is supposed to be the vanguard of the class. The formula has no real content for them. The importance of the Marxian vanguard for the success of the revolution has been demonstrated by the victory of the Russian revolution and the defeats of the German and Chinese revolutions. The Young Communist League can help forge the Marxian vanguard only if it functions correctly as an educational organization. But does it? Let us restate the problem here:

1. In capitalist society the young worker is intensely exploited. Not only are the needs for his particular physical and mental development which he undergoes during this period completely disregarded, but he is even more burdened than the adult worker. He is compelled to work under worse conditions and receives less wages than the adult worker for the same amount of work. He thus occupies a special position in industry.

2. The Young Communist League is the organization of the working class youth which defends its special interests; unites them with the struggles of the whole working class for the improvement of its conditions; and indissolubly merges them with the historic mission of the proletariat for the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transition stage to socialism.

3. However, the need for a separate political organization of the working class youth arises not from its special position in industry, but from the peculiar psychological characteristics of youth. If this were not so, there would be no reason why the party should not become directly the defender of the special interests of the youth adopting appropriate organizational forms such as youth committees or youth sections to concentrate on this work.

4. The psychological characteristics of youth, such as, the predominance of sentiment over reason, greater need for socialibility and self-expression, impulsiveness, plus the inexperience and lack of theoretical knowledge determines the character of the Y. C. L. as an educational organization. The purpose of the Y. C. L. is to train Communists. The method for accomplishing this is participation in the class struggle supplemented by theoretical study.

5. Because of all this, as well as the fact that each generation arrives at Communism under changed objective conditions and in its own way, the Y. C. L. in its relation to the party is organizationally independent; and because of the superior experience and knowledge of the party which is the vanguard of the entire class—it is politically subordinate to it.

6. The Young Communist League is a broader form of organization than the party. It admits to its ranks all young workers who want to become Communists while the party admits to its ranks those who are Communists that is, those who accept its full program. The party consists of the most advanced elements of the class.

7. From this follows the different character of the inner life of the League from that of the party. The youth in order to learn must be allowed the right of questioning the validity of the formulas presented by the party. Only in this way will the members of the Y. C. L. be enabled to develop into genuine, disciplined Bolsheviks—Communists with conviction, courage, initiative, and character. Adequate guarantees that the Y. C. L. remains a Communist organization are: political subordination to the Party, correct party strategy tactics, a cadre of party members within the League occupying the leading positions (that is, older League members with more experience and superior knowledge, democratic ally elected), and democratic centralism.

8. In actuality all this is not so. Neither the party nor the Y. C. L. is organized in accordance with these fundamental ideas. The Rights and the Centrists have distorted the whole idea of the party. In the Soviet Union they are gradually dissolving the party in the class through wholesale admission of elements unqualified to be in the vanguard (whole factories joining en masse). In the capitalist countries an analogous process occurs through the indiscriminate admission of elements who do not possess the proper prerequisites for membership. Democratic centralism has been eliminated. The proletarian wing has been expelled. The apparatus has usurped the functions of the party. Bureaucratism reigns supreme.

9. In the Y. C. L. the members are not permitted to criticize the policies and lines of the apparatus which must be viewed as infallible. They can only state whether the "unquestionably correct" line has been correctly or incorrectly applied. If bureaucratism is disastrous for the party, it is even a hundred times more so for the Y. C. L. **for it strikes at the very heart and idea which makes a seperate organization of the youth necessary.**

10. The future of the Communist youth movement depends on the struggle against the bureaucratic regime and all the revisionist policies upon which it rests. This can be done only through the road proposed by the Left Opposition. The cadres from the Communist youth movement will be educated for the future regenerated Communist party in the process of this struggle.

In view of this situation what tasks devolve upon the Left Opposition? The inability of the Young Communist League to fulfill its function because of Stalinist bureaucratic strangulation imposes an enormous responsibility on the shoulders of the Left Opposition. It must assume the duty of training the cadres from the youth for the Communist vanguard. It means that the Opposition must be alert to the youth question, and devote more attention to it than it has in the past. The advance of the Opposition will to a large extent be determined on its success in educating youth elements for future leadership.

But does this mean that because the Y. C. L. is prevented from performing its real task correctly, that the Opposition ought to ignore the Y. C. L. and perhaps attempt to create a new Y. C. L. which, because of correct Marxian leadership, will perform its functions? This would be an extremely erroneous conclusion. The relation of the Opposition to the Y. C. L. can at the present time be in no way different than towards the party. The arguments which determine our attitude toward the party are equally valid here. **The Opposition will educate the youth elements in the process of its struggle against bureaucratism and opportunism.**

The tasks of the Left Opposition in relation to the youth are:

1. Propaganda on the real nature and functions of the Young Communist League.

2. Elaboration of youth policies **on the basis of facts.**

3. United front of youth members of Opposition with Y. C. L. on every possible occasion.

4. uilding of a strong fraction in Y. C. L.

5. Relentless criticism of Stalinist policies in Y. C. L.

6. Special attention to Marxian education of youth comrades in the opposition.

7. Participation of Opposition youth in all phases of class struggle to the greatest extent possible.

—GEORGE RAY.

Organization Notes

For the arrangements of our pre-conference discussion the National Committee has decided that it is necessary to arrange contributions in such a way that they do not exceed two columns per article, but with no restrictions upon the number of contributions which any member may wish to submit. We count in general not on more than one page per issue for discussion. This will also include the publication of the additional theses and resolutions.

For those who may at the outset look for an analysis and conclusions from the revolutionary developments in Spain, while that was not contained in the main draft thesis it will become part of our proposed resolution on developments within the International and in the Left Opposition.

In taking up this discussion in the various branches the best method will naturally be the one of first taking up the general estimates and the conclusions which the draft thesis presents. Once that is thoroughly understood it becomes easier to take up possible amendments on certain aspects, adding omissions or proposing changes of formulation if any. In the discussion in general, both within the branches and the written contributions, comrades should bear in mind that when proceeding somewhat systematically, possibilities are the best for an exhaustive clarification of views. Hence our fundamental political views should receive first consideration, that is, discuss first the draft theses. This will then facilitate taking up further the tasks which flow from these fundamental views as well as the tactical questions and organizational problems implied.

Our Recent Activities

The Boston branch has been temporarily reinforced by the arrival of comrade Sam Gordon from New York. He will function there in an organizing capacity, help the branch by speaking at meetings, helping to make contacts and in taking up more effectively the work within the general mass movement. The period of his stay is not definitely determined but depends upon the possibilities as well as the resources available. Comrades Clarke and Stamm have now for a few weeks been very active in Cleveland. Jointly they have been speaking at regular meetings on the Public Square to an ever-increasing and ever more sympathetic audience. They have reported many examples of the eagerness with which assembled workers have listened to explanation of the views of the Left Opposition and received our literature. Concretely it has been proven in an ever increasing literature distribution.

Comrade Stamm will henceforth carry on alone in Cleveland while Clarke is making a tour further west through the mine fields to St. Louis, Mo. There he will remain for a while and help organize the activities of our branch. It is the expectations that he will also be able later to spend a little time in Kansas City, Mo. This is not an organization tour in the usual sense of the word but rather one of a footloose active member putting in an effort to help build the Left Opposition in various places. The results so far have nevertheless been of distinct organizational value.

The Minneapolis branch has made a record of taking in several new members during the last couple of months. For a period some of its active forces spent some time in the Dulth-Superior territory and established contacts through which literature is now being distributed. These forces have returned to the twin cities and again strengthened the branch. The branch has participated in miners' relief work and the comrades report that as usual the relief conferences were very narrow and their efforts will be directed toward giving them a broader basis. In trade union activities our Minneapolis comrades are as busy as ever. Just now the main attention is taken up with organization to thwart the expulsion campaign initiated by the A. F. of L. union bureaucrats, this time not merely aimed at the Communists but also against the progressive workers.

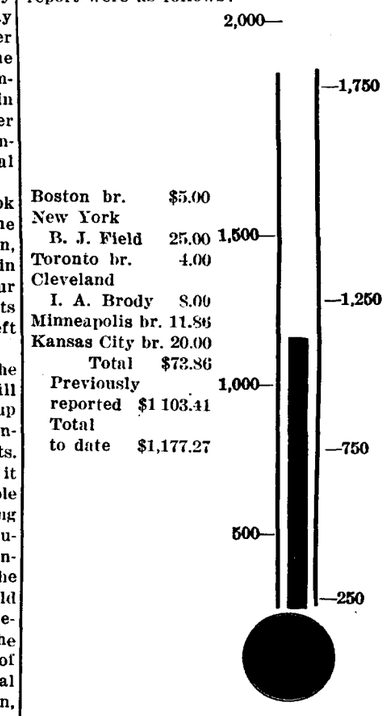
Our Expansion Program

While big progress cannot be reported this time there is nevertheless results showing that the interest is still alive. From the preceding notes it will be observed that we are making some progress in a modest way toward extending our general organization activities. That, of course, is part of our program and thus indicates further advance. If the pre-conference activities, the discussions and preparations for the gathering are correctly connected up with the material aspect of finances we will be sure to be well on our way with the third step. The fact that new names have appeared right along on the contribution list to the Expansion Program proves that efforts in this direction are continually being made.

Nevertheless we must say—more speed.

The contributions received since last report were as follows:

Boston br.	$5.00	
New York		
B. J. Field	25.00	
Toronto br.	4.00	
Cleveland		
I. A. Brody	8.00	
Minneapolis br.	11.86	
Kansas City br.	20.00	
Total	$73.86	
Previously reported	$1 103.41	
Total to date	$1,177.27	



FRAGMENTS OF TRUTH FROM UNDER THE GARBAGE OF SLANDER

In 1924, Zinoviev set into circulation an accusation against Trotsky for issuing the railroad "Order 1042", which was supposed to have nearly ruined transportation. Upon this canvas, Stalin, Yaroslavsky and Rudzutak embroidered their designs. The legend made its rounds in its day throughout the press of the Comintern. In a letter by Trotsky to the Institute for Party History, the actual coments of Lenin and Dzerzhinsky on Order 1042 and its significance for transportation, are reproduced. But it appears that there is a comment of more recent origin. In the Annual of the Comintern which appeared in 1923, that is, on the eve of the campaign against Trotsky, in an article "The Transport of the R. S. F. S. R. and Its Rehabilitation" the following is said literally:

"At this time, transportaion was completely ruined. There was not only no talk about its rehabilitation, but matters went so far that in the Council of Labor and Defense, a member of the collegium of the People's Commissariat of Transportation, Professor Lomonossov, made a report to the effect that transportation is on the eve of complete and unavoidable standstill. Comrade Trotsky, having undertaken the direction of transportation, advanced two slogans which had a decisive significance not only for transportation but for the whole economy of the country . . . Order 1042 is an historical one. According to it, the locomotives were to be rehabilitated within five years. The Communist propagation of this Order and the Communist rise which this produced should be recognized as the highest level attained by the increase of the masses' readiness for labor—for feats." (**Annual of the Comintern,** Publishing House of the Comintern Petrograd-Moscow, 1923, page 363.)

And so on and so forth. As we see, the function of "Order 1042" was different at different periods. —ALFA.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

WAGE CUTS AND STRIKES

A speeding up of the wage cutting campaign on the one hand and the growth of the strike movement on the other are the two outstanding and related developments of the month in the doestic field. The letter of Secretary of Commerce Lamont to Representative Condon gave a powerful impetus to the drive against wage standards, and was no doubt so designed. The subsequent attempts of the White House to obscure the issue and "interpret" Lamont's blunt declaration in justification of reductions by firms "in extremely difficult positions" are not to be taken seriously. We do not believe that Lamont spoke for himself alone, and certainly not as an opponent of Hoover's attitude. It is more reasonable to conclude that his letter was put out as a "feeler" and a tip to the industrialists to go ahead everywhere, with full assurance of Governmental support.

They are doing so. And even more significant than the reductions already made are the wide-scale preparations for a bigger assault all along the line, and especially in the big industries. The steel workers will be one of the next points of attack, an attack which was already being prepared at the time of Farrell's hypocritical speech against it a few weeks ago. The railroads are getting ready now. Stuart Chase, in his latest work, predicts a sweeping wage cut in the railroad industry. The application for an increase in freight rates is primarily, if not exclusively a filibuster to prepare the way for a drastic reduction of rail wages on the ground that the railroads are also in "extremely difficult positions" which, higher freight rates failing, can be relieved only by a cut in labor costs. The wage cuts so far recorded, heavy as they have been, are only the first experimental steps. The great offensive is yet to come, as all signs testify.

The defensive struggle of the workers is gaining momentum, although slowly and in a tentative fashion. There is nothing in the facts to sustain the blockheads who describe the situation as a "workers' offensive". The Department of Labor figures which, like the reports on unemployment are not to be taken at face value, give, nevertheless, an approximate picture for comparative purposes. 447 strikes and lockouts in the first six months of the year show an increase of nearly fifty per cent over the same period in 1930. But if we compare this with the 2,385 strikes in 1921—also a crisis year—we can see that the labor movement is not yet standing on its feet. And the strike figures for 1919, when 3,630 wage conflicts were recorded, speak even more eloquently of the realities of the present situation.

Coal, steel and railroads were represented in the labor revolts of that year and constituted the heart of it. The present defensive movement of the workers is confined largely so far, to soft coal and textiles where the industry is the "sickest" and the pressure on the workers has been the heaviest. But the rate at which the struggles are developing in this sector and the militancy which characterizes them are promising signs of a genuine labor awakening.

The theory that the workers are not inclined to strike during periods of crisis and wide unemployment receives a certain confirmation from American labor and economic history, and is borne out within limits by the experience of the past two years. But the present situation is extraordinary in many respects, as has been pointed out before. It is quite false to construct a law to the effect that the workers will not strike during the crisis, as the Right wing has been inclined to do. The increase in strike struggles in recent weeks, and particularly the determined battles of the miners and textile workers, refute this dogma.

They argue rather for the idea that the workers in other industries, such as the railrodas and steel mills, caught in the furious wage-cutting drive, will not wait for a revival to give their answer in terms of struggle. Our perspective of the coming months runs this way. From such a development will flow unbounded possibilities for the awakening of the labor movement and a sweeping advance of Communism.

THEY SAY IT WITH FLOWERS

The exponents of Bolshevik self-criticism are at it again and true stories stranger than fiction are unfolding themselves on the pages of the **Daily Worke** for anyone to read if he will and to understand if he can. Kuusinen precipitated the latest orgy with his recent article entitled, "Are the Decisions of the E. C. C. I. Plenum to Remain on Paper?" They should have, but they didn't. And now we are hearing a roll-call on the results. The head men of the C. E. C. have evidently called on all the District Committees to explain—at length, of course—which district applied the line of the XI Plenum most faithfully and which got the worst results. The Chicago D. E. C. bids for the prize in the latest Stalinist competition with a resolution in the **Daily Worker** of August 1, which covers almost a whole page of the paper. The report is long and, in its own way, good.

The resolution of the district leaders bristles with accounts of "weaknesses", "failures", "opportunism" "Leftist mistakes", "dissolution", "demoralization" and "collapse" in every field, all related with the gusto and enthusiasm of a hypochondriac boasting of his diseases The section devoted to the Southern Illinois mining fields is a fair sample of the whole document. They were busy there and they have results to show for it. The achievements claimed in the resolution include the following: "(a) Failure to mobilize the Illinois miners to struggle and spread the Orfent strike. (b) Decline of our influence in the Orient strike. (c) Dissolution of the four locals of the N. M. U. (d) Dissolution of five units of the party. (e) General weakening of our position in the Illinois fields."

This, we contend, is pretty close to a hundred per cent efficiency in the work of clearing out the sprouts and shoots of Communist influence. The grasshoppers in a Dakota field could hardly make a cleaner sweep. And how do the Chicago Stalinists account for this result? Do they re-examine the policy that produces such a devastation? Not at all. "The District Bureau", they say, "has made generally correct decisions on work in the mining field." This they call "self-criticism" and on top of it they add: "Self-criticism is that particular method of work by which we improve all our methods of work." They say it with flowers.

In the political struggle we grow accustomed to much, and we are ready to believe that this incredible document was really adopted, that is not a forgery elaborated to make fun of the party. But when the **Daily Worker** introduces the resolution with the statement that it is "an example to other districts—not only to follow, but to excel". it goes too far. How can that record be excelled?

—J. P. C.

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Problems of the Spanish Revolution

Mistakes of Comrade Maurin

It has been said that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. In Spain, this truth has never been so much in evidence as at the present moment Our labor movement is terribly disoriented at a time when a clear and distinct orientation is now more necessary than ever before. The ideological chaos into which the National Confederation of Labor has sunk constitutes a mortal danger for the revolution. Anarcho-syndicalism can only lead the Spanish proletariat to defeat. The last congress of this central dispelled the slender hopes for correction that might have remained; the leaders of the N. C. of L. have learned nothing from the rich experiences of recent years and they continte to debate in a frightful confusion.

Theoretical poverty has always characterized the Spanish Socialist Party. But if its leaders gave no revolutionary theory to the working class of our country, it was not only out of incompetence but with the aim of subjecting its hosts to the liberal bourgeois ideology. Today, socialism is no longer at the Right wing of the labor movement, but perhaps not even at the Left wing of the bourgeoisie.

In the Communist movement painful as it is to say so, the situation is not much more alluring in this respect. In the official Communist party, the system of bureaucratic leadership chokes off in its infancy all possibility of theoretical life. Nobody dares, out of fear of expulsion, to hazard the slightest idea or his own initiative. On the other hand, the autonomous organizations, such as the Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation or the Agrupacion de Madrid, floating ideolgically in the air, maintain an indefinite policy full of vacillation and wavering.

Should the present ideological disorientation persist, the immense possibilities that the situation contains objectively for the proletariat, will be wasted. There is lacking in Spain a powerful Communist party capable of directing the spontaneous movement of the masses towards the conquest of power. But the indispensable premise for the formation of such a party and the guarantee of its effectiveness as an instrument of the liberation of the working class, is the elaboration of a revolutionary strategy and tactic. For this reason, the struggle on the theoretical front must occupy at present a prominent place, and the deviations and the mistakes must be combatted with the maximum of energy.

In this sense, the lecture given on June 8 at the Ateneo of Madrid by comrade Joaquin Maurin cannot be allowed to pass in silence, inasmuch as the spirit that animated it constituted an attempt at revision of the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism, an attempt which, should it succeed, would represent an immense danger for the Spanish revolution.

The author of these lines, at the meeting which followed the next day at this hall, combatted the errors of Maurin. But they are of such importance that we deem it indispensable to bring them forward once more before the Spanish Communists.

An . . . Uncomfortable Position

Maurin began by declaring that the Communists of the Catalonian-Balearic Federation, in whose name he spoke were regarded as Stalinists by the "Trotskyists" and as "Trotskyists" by the Stalinists. The thing is logical. The fate which is reserved for those who, as in the case of Maurin and of the organization he represents, have no definite political position, is to receive the blows from both sides and to be compeled, in the final analysis, to pronounce themselves concretely, incorporating themselves into one of the tendencies or else to be eliminated conclusively from the political arena.

The tragic conflict that now divides the international Communist movement has its roots in profound differences on the fundamental problems of the revolution. These differences can and should be overcome by the sole effective manner known up to now: the application of democratic centralism, converted into a dead letter by bureaucratic centralism of the International. But the fact is that the differences not only exist but have become deeper, and to remain indifferent or to maintain an attitude of neutrality towards them, is impossible for any Communist. To persist in claiming the contrary, leads to what Maurin has been led to, to adopt a political orientation which has alienated from the Stalinists and from the Left Opposition in exchange for an approach to the Left wing of the petty bourgeoisie.

Why Maurin Is Not with the "Trotskyists"

Since politics does not tolerate a vacuum, Maurin had to say why he was not with the Left Communist Opposition and why he dissented from the policy of the International.

Against the political orientation of the Opposition, Maurin was unable to oppose his own, or else he had none, or still better because he did not presume to declare that its evaluation of the Spanish political situation and the tactics it recommends were correct. Therefore, he went off on a tangent, resorting to one of the arguments favored by the sub-Stalinists of every country: to assert that the Communist Left Opposition is an enemy of the Five Year Plan. Precisely in recent times, Reuter and other bourgeoisie press agencies, singing in chorus with the Stalinists, have attributed interviews and falsified articles to Trotsky, according to which our comrade called the Plan a "fraud" and proclaimed its complete downfall. Maurin who, up to now, had maintained a neutral attitude on the internal problems of the Russian revolution believed it his duty to join his voice to the Stalino-bourgeois chorus. We do not congratulate him on it. Because Maurin who, for various reasons, is much better informed on what is going on in Russia that many other militants, Maurin who cannot limit himself to the simple worship of a neophyte before the Russian revolution, but has the duty to study its problems and to know the genuine history and not that manufactured by the Stalinist bureaucracy—knows perfectly well that the accusation he formulated does not correspond to the reality. Has the leader of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc forgotten the history of these last years? Does he not know that it was precisely the Left Opposition that initiated the industrialization of the country, which conducted a furious struggle for it against the present leaders of the C. P. S. U. who accused us as super-industrialists, and utilized the collaboration of the Mensheviks in the economic organs of the state—the same ones whom Stalin recently had to try as sabotagers — for the elaboration of plans based upon the minimal development of industry and upon the protection of the Kulak? Does not Maurin know that it is precisely for having defended industrialization against those who stigmatized them as counter-revolutionists, that the militants of the Communist Left Opposition were expelled from the party, imprisoned deported and shot? Maurin knows all this perfectly well and that is why his assertion can have only two meanings: to fall deliberately into error, or else to buy the good will of the International, by throwing a stone against the "Trotskyists"

The "National" Character of the Spanish Revolution

Having liquidated with such lightness the difference that separates him from the Communist Left Opposition, Maurin had to explain wherein lay his disagreements and those of the organization in whose name he spoke, with the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International. Here the mistake of comrade Maurin is even more serious.

Maurin asserted that what separates him from the Communist International is primarily a difference of evaluation of the present situation. The International—according to him—wanted to impose the experiences of the Russian revolution upon other countries, and this led to the defeat of the Communists in Germany, in Bulgaria in Cihna and in Esthonia. Spain has to make its revolution a national, original revolution The conception of Maurin, in this respect, is a distorted transplantation of the anti-Marxist theory of Stalin of socialism in one country, a conception the spirit of which contains grave dangers for the cause of the proletariat.

Nothing could be more disastrous to the Spanish proletariat than to separate itself from the international Communist movement and to claim to orient it in accordance with a domestic policy of home manufacture.The working class, precisely because of international experience, will elaborate the methods of its emancipation. In the elaboration of the tactics of Marx and Lenin the contribution of the experience of the great revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century, and more specifically of the revolutions of 1848 and the Paris Commune, played a role of the first order. Without this experience, Lenin would have been unable to work out with such precision the tactics that led the Russian proletariat to victory in October 1917.

If the Communist International failed in the countries mentioned by Maurin, it was not because it imposed the experiences of the Russian revolution, but precisely because it forgot them completely. In China, in place of assuring the hegemony of the proletariat and of guaranteeing its independence in face of the bourgeois parties, it proclaimed the "bloc of four classes" subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. represented by the Kuo Min Tang. curbed the agrarian revolution, and as a consequence of all this, prepared the victory of the bourgeois counter-revolution of Chiang Kai-Shek. Then, as if the lesson had not been sufficiently heavy, it submitted the fate of the proletariat and of the revolution to the government of the petty bourgeoisie of Wuhan—the government which, according to Stalin in May 1927 was almost the dictatorship of the proletariat, which—naturally, also betrayed the interests of the working class.

In Germany, the Communist International, thanks to its opportunist policy, did not know how to take advantage of the exceptional opportunity offered it by the exceptional situation in the country in the Autumn of 1923 for the seizure of power. This formidable collapse had enormous consequences for the whole development of the international Communist movement and paved the way for the beginning of the social reaction in Russia, which led to the enthronement of the bureaucratic Stalinist domination.

In Bulgaria, the lack of revolutionary decision and the opportunism of the party leadership provoked the reactionary coup d'etat of Tsankov, for which the Bulgarian workers and peasants paid in torrents of blood. The insurrection that broke out afterwards in this country and later on in Esthonia were adventurist attempts to repair the consequences of the disastrous policy that had been practised.

Did the International fail in these countries because it imposed the methods of the Russian revolution? This is true up to a certain point insofar as the policy of the Comintern in these ocuntries was inspired by the conceptions and the methods of the Mensheviks. We are of course in agreement with Maurin if this is the example which he urges us to follow. We are not, it is needless to say, if by his assertion he claims that we have to lay aside the Bolshevik experience. And in saying this, we have no desire at all to affirm that it will be necessary to copy literally that which the Bolsheviks did in Russia. Naturally, one must take into account the circumstances of time and place, the specific peculiarities of each coutry in the same way that the doctor takes into account the peculiarities of each patient in order to apply the general treatment. What is essential is the general political orientation. And in this sense it must be said that the general takes precedence over the particular. When we speak, for example, of the bourgeois revolutions of the past, we do not refer to the various forms in which they manifested themselves in each country but to their fundamental characteristic: the destruction of feudal relationships to be substituted for by bourgeois democracy. In our epoch, the struggle of the exploited against the exploiters unfolds itself on a world scale, the national manifestations of this struggle constitute only one aspect of this general struggle. In this huge battle, the proletariat can find its emancipation only in the establishment of its dictatorship, based upon mass organizations, such as the Soviets, the revolutionary Juntas and similar organizations, with a directing Communist party as guide. Outside of this general formula are admissable all the modifications and amendments imposed by national circumstances and peculiarities.

Let us record in this connection that in 1923, when the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party was discussing the problems of the German revolution it was precisely our comrade Trotsky who opposed Zinoviev's proposal to create Soviets, arguing correctly that at that moment the mass organizations around which the German proletariat had grouped itself were not the Soviets, as in 1918, but the factory councils. (To be concluded.)

—ANDRES NIN

Stalin in 1921

More About the Theory of Socialism in One Country Before Lenin's Death

It is already fairly well known how in two editions of one of his pamphlets, "Lenin and Leninism", both issued in the same year, Stalin expressed himself in two mutually exclusive ways about the theory of "socialism in one country" In the first edition, published, like the second, in 1924, Stalin wrote that while the efforts of a national proletariat were sufficient to overthrow its bourgeoisie, "for the final victory of socialism for the organization of socialist construction, the efforts of one country, particularly of such a peasant country as Russia, are insufficient". In the second edition, Stalin introduced his nationalist correction, according to which what had a few months before been insufficient, now become quite adequate and entirely in accordance with the teachings of Marx and Lenin. It will be remembered also that Stalin, to explain away this embarrassing dualism in his 1924 contributions to revolutionary science, declared at the Seventh plenum of the C. I. "against" Zinoviev, that he had the "right to change and to express more sharply" his formulation of a brief few months before. In the intervening years, the theory of "socialism in one country", known to Marx and Lenin only as the subject of ridicule and attack, has been rounded out, invested with the authority of the Communist International, dressed up in distorted and falsified "quotations" from Marx and Lenin, and laid down by Stalin and his apparatus as the foundation stone in the struggle against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism".

Stalin in 1925

How definitely Stalin took his place on the side of this theory—following 1924, of course; before then it was quite unknown in the ranks of Bolshevism or of any other Marxian current—is to be seen from the following quotation from a speech he delivered at the Sverdlov University on June 9, 1925:

"Is it possible then, to construct a socialist economic system in our country without the previous victory of socialism in other countries, without aid in technique and equipment on the part of the victorious proletariat of the West?

"Yes, this is possible. It is not only possible, but is both necessary and inevitable. . . .

"The great significance of Lenin, also, by the way, consists in the fact that he adopted no haphazard attitude towards construction, that he does not contemplate construction without perspectives, and that he gives a clear and definite answer to the question of the perspectives of our work that we have all the pre-requisites for constructing a socialist economy in our country, and that we can and must construct a completely socialist society". (Stalin, "Bolshevism: Some Questions Answered", London, 1926.)

Now, Stalin has one doubtful advantage over the other leading theoretical defenders of national socialism. With Bucharin, for instance, it is not difficult to rummage through his old writings and bring forth one passage after another in which he speaks decisively against the theory he and Stalin have advocated from 1924 onwards. But Stalin's literary contributions, especially prior to Lenin's death, are so meager, that he has thus far been able to console himself with the idea that, aside from his "slip" in the first edition of "Lenin and Leninism", his feeble literary endeavors of the past will not rise to contradict his present theoretical position. But it appears that even this safeguard is not without its breach.

Glancing through some old documents, the writer has come across an illuminating article in **Russische Korrespondenz**, No. 7-9, July-October 1921 a review published in German by the Communist International which, unless I am mistaken, was the forerunner of the **International Press Correspondence.** The article is by J. Stalin: "The Communist Party Before and After the Conquest of Power," a chapter, the editor informs us, taken from some unknown book by Stalin. What Stalin wrote in 1921 is so revealing that it must be lifted out of its obscurity and made public again so that we may have additional proof—if more is needed—of how all the Bolshevik leaders during Lenin's life time regarded the question of Russia's alleged self-sufficiency in the building of a "completely socialist society", and that "without aid in technique and equipment on the part of the victorious proletariat of the West" Let us quote the Stalin of 1921 at length:

And Stalin in 1921

"But the October also has its dark side. It is concerned with the fact that the seizure of power by the proletariat in Russia proceeded under peculiar external and internal conditions which stamped all the work after the seizure of power. First: Russia is a backward country in economic respects; **it cannot rehabilitate transportation, develop industry and electrify urban and rural industry with its own forces,** without exchanging the raw materials at hand for machinery and implements from the Western countries. Second, Russia is for the present a socialist island, which is surrounded by capitalist states more developed in industrial respects and hostile to it. If Soviet Russia had but one large state or a few Soviet states developed in industrial respects, as neighbors, then it could easily collaborate with such states on the principles of the exchange of raw materials for machines and implements. But so long as this is not the case, Soviet Russia and our party, which has the government in its hands, are compelled to seek forms and methods of economic cooperation with the hostile capitalist groups of the West in order to acquire the necessary technique, **until the moment occurs of the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or a few industrial capitalist states.** Relations in the form of concessions and of foreign trade—these are the means for attaining this goal. Otherwise, a serious economic construction, an electrification of the country, cannot even be thought of. This process will undoubtedly be a slow and painful one; but it is unavoidable and inevitable, and this inevitability will remain even if some impatient comrades gesticulate nervously and demand immediate results and effective operations.

"From the economic point of view, the present conflicts and military clashes of the capitalist groups among themselves, in the same way as the struggle of the proletariat against the class of the capitalists, have at their foundation the fundamental conflict of present-day productive forces with the national-imperialist boundaries to their development, and the capitalist forms of appropriation. The imperialist boundaries and the capitalist form strangle the productive forces and do not permit their development. The only way out is the organization of world economy according to the principles of fraternal economic collaboration of the advanced (industrial) states with the backward (fuel and raw materials) states (but not according to the principles of the spollation of the latter by the former). It is for this precisely that the international proletarian revolution is required. Otherwise, an organization and normal development of world economy cannot even be thought of. But in orde to begin (at least to **begin**) with the organization of a correct world economy, the history of the proletariat at least in a few of the advanced states is required. So long as this is not the case, our party must seek roundabout ways for cooperation with the capitalist groups on the economic field. This is the reason why the party, after having shaken off its bourgeoisie and raised the banner of the proletarian world revolution, considers it expedient to liberate small production and small industry from their fetters, to permit a partial revival of capitalism, putting it in dependence upon the state power to draw in tenant farmers and shareholders, etc., etc., up to the moment when substantial results are yielded by the policy of the party: 'to realize a maximum of what can be carried out in one country for the development, the support and the arousing of the revolution in all countries'." (Page 808. Our emphasis.)

Thus spoke Stalin in 1921, before he had undertaken to "deepen" Marx and to "broaden" Lenin. At that time, far from believing that Russia had "all the pre-requisites" for a complete socialist economy, he even rejected the idea that Russia could "dvelop industry and electrify urban and rural industry with its own forces". In 1921 he had not the slightest idea that the "maximum of what can be carried out in one country" was a "completely socialist society."

How clearly does every new scrap of evidence dug out of the submerged past demonstrate to us that the theory of socialism in one country, entirely alien to Marxism and reactionary to the core, saw the light of day in the ranks of Bolshevism only after Lenin could see it no more!

—S-n.

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